4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

812
772

cessible to the senses or to understanding. For example, all cosmic or extra-cosmic personnel whose locations are variable, vague, or unknown, are capable of doing evil. Being neither known nor localizable, they are not part of the unified kin and cosmic structure in which gods, the dead, and men and their respective lands are tied together. They exist outside society, hence only loosely attached to, or even outside of, the cosmos. Thus disease and death are both caused by sorcerers (*brujos*, Sp; *yareké*, Y.). These are described as wandering about freely in the savanas where they attack persons. Not only can the Yaruro advert to them only in the most indefinite way with regard to form, but they also specifically deny that human beings are or can be sorcerers or that human beings practice witchcraft. Thus, to the Yaruro, the major evils of disease and of wicked hearts (*corazones malos*) of individual Yaruros are caused by unknowable spirits. Even the chief and father of the *yareké*, Abakári, is as indefinite in form as his sons, and the Yaruro either do not locate him at all, or are very much disagreed as to his locus. No proper Yaruro self has any personal contact with him. Though the *yareké* are kin-related among themselves, they are not "of our family" (*de la familia de nosotros*), hence outside of our society.

4. The good society. *In the good cosmos, the good society consists of kin-related gods, the dead, communities and individuals of largely coordinate and reciprocal statuses living in tranquility and sharing all things.* Gods, community, and individuals are all actors knowing the general principles of the cosmic society. Such principles include kinship, equivalent rights and privileges for all.

5. The determinants of action. *In the good society, action is guided by precept, suggestion, and by sensibility to the wants of others and of self, but compulsion and hostility are not permissible.*

6. Nature of precepts and principles of action. *In the good society, precepts and principles are general rather than specific and prescriptive.* The result is that patterns of behavior and thought in Yaruro society are quite unformalized, unritualized, and unspecified. All classes of behavior show a great range of variability and flexibility. The individual can choose to fulfil his obligations to the community, an the community to the cosmos, in various ways.

7. Freedom or restriction of will. *The individual not only has a broad range of choice of actions but is not compelled by the nature of the cosmos nor by the personel in it to follow any particular path. He has free will with regard to the ordained order of things* (4) .Each man is, in theory, as in fact, to a remarkable degree self-determining in actions and thought. Except in extreme divergences, he need not account to anyone.

Several dimensions which appear as dualistic distinctions in western thought are conceptually single in Yaruro ideology. The self, as the expe-

[828]

(4) Petrullo (1939, p. 229) first noted this aspect.

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

812
772
828

riences in shamanism, dreams, unconsciousness, and immediately after death show, is conceived as being undifferentiated and unitary, though divisible into like, but unequally active parts. No mind-body distinction is made. Again in a static and limited universe within which, however, all parts, visible and invisible, sensible or not directly sensible, are in a flux of interaction, all things have some degree of reality. The distinction "real-unreal" as it is understood in the West is lack'ng among the Yaruro. Further, in this same universe, those parts which we might designate "immaterial" are, to the Yaruro, quite as concrete and sensed as the so-called "material" objects and events. The western distinction between "material" and "immaterial" is not a meaningful one to the Yaruro. Finally, the unity and continuity of what westerners would call "natural" and "supernatural" has been discussed above. Such a distinction is not made by the Yaruro.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

113

ANTOLINEZ, Gilberto
1939 "Concepción del Mundo entre las tribus indígenas de Venezuela", *Revista Nacional de Cultura*, 6, pp. 37-42.

ELIADE, Mircea
1954 *The Myth of the Eternal Return*. New York: Pantheon.

FIASSON, R.
1947 "Algunos aspectos científicos del Apure", *El Agricultor Venezolano*, XII Nº 127: 3-12.

KIRCHHOFF, Paul
1948 "Food-Gathering Tribes of the Venezuelan Llanos — the Yaruro", in *Handbook of South American Indians*, J. H. Steward, ed., Vol. IV, pp.456-463, Bull. 143 of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, D. C.

KLUCKHOHN, Clyde
1949 "The Philosophy of the Navaho Indians", in F. S. C. Northrop, ed., *Ideological Differences and World Order*, New Haven: Yale Univ Press.

LE BESNERAIS, Henry
1948 — "Algunos Aspectos del Río Capanaparo y de Sus Indios Yaruros", *Memoria Sociedad de Ciencias Naturales La Salle*, 3, Nº 21, pp. 9-20.
1954 — "Contribution a l'étude des Indiens Yaruro (Venezuela) — quelques observations sur le territoire, l'habitat et la population", *Journal de la Société des Américanistes*, 43, pp. 103-121.

LODARES, Baltasar de (Fr. MRP)
1922 — *Los Franciscanos en Venezuela*. Caracas: Empresa Ediorcil.

OPLER, Morris E.
1945 — "Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture", *Amer. Journal of Sociology*, LI, Nº 3 November, pp. 198-206.

PETRULLO, Vincenzo
1939 — "The Yaruros of the Capanaparo River, Venezuela", *Anthropological Papers Nº 11*, Bulletin 123 of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, D. C.